

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 028206

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TAGS: PFOR, UK, NATO, XF, XJ, UR

SUBJECT: THE SECRETARY'S TALKS WITH CALLAGHAN

1. THE SECRETARY MET FOR ONE AND A HALF HOURS JANUARY 30
WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN. THE BRITISH SIDE IN-
CLUDED RAMSBOTHAM, MAITLAND, MCNALLY, ACKLAND, MCCAFFREY,
THOMPSON, WEIR, TICKELL, WILLIAMS AND SYKES. THE US:
RICHARDSON, ROBINSON, SONNENFELDT, HARTMAN AND BUELL. DIS-
CUSSION COVERED CSCE, EC-ARAB DIALOGUE, GREECE-TURKEY-
CYPRUS AND SOUTHERN AFRICA.

2. CSCE. CALLAGHAN PROPOSED APPROACH IN MOSCOW DURING
FORTHCOMING WILSON VISIT AS FOLLOW-UP TO SIGNAL RECEIVED
FROM AMBASSADOR DUBININ IN GENEVA THAT SOVIETS WANTED
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 028206

"SECRET" TALKS WITH BRITS. CALLAGHAN SAID HE WANTED TO

RESPOND POSITIVELY. WOULD AVOID PEACEFUL CHANGE BUT COULD GET INTO BASKET THREE AND CBMS. THE SECRETARY DETECTED OLD ONE TO MOVE ANOTHER. WHEN THISTACTIC EXHAUSTED, SOVIETS WILL MOVE TO SUMMIT THEY EARNESTLY WANT. THE SECRETARY DID NOT ENCOURAGE CALLAGHAN TO HOPE FOR CONCESSIONS FROM GROMYKO AND CAUTIONED HIM NOT TO ACCEPT SOVIET VERSION OF US POSITIONS. RECOMMENDED THAT WE RETAIN AT LEAST VESTIGE OF "ESCAPE ROUTE" ON AGREEING TO SUMMIT IN EVENT SOVIETS TURN BLOODY-MINDED. ON TIMING, SAID WE WOULD PREFER SEPTEMBER SIMPLY AS GUARANTEE OF REASONABLY GOOD SOVIET

BEHAVIOR UNTIL THEN, BUT WOULD NOT STRONGLY OPPOSE JUNE OR JULY. IT WAS AGREED US WOULD CONTINUE DISCUSSION WITH SOVIETS ON PEACEFUL CHANGE. ON CBMS SECRETARY EXPRESSED PREFERENCE FOR BINDING OBLIGATION RATHER THAN ALTERNATIVE OF CHANGES IN PARAMETERS ON SIZE AND TERRITORY. SECRE-TARY SAID HE COULD LIVE WITH BRITISH PROPOSAL THAT FOLLOW-ON COULD TAKE PLACE EIGHTEEN MONTHS AFTER STAGE THREE. SECRETARY PREDICTED GROMYKO WOULD HANG TOUGH ON PRINCIPLES IN EFFORT TO PUT GERMANS IN POSITION OF LONE HOLD-OUT.

3. EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE. CALLAGHAN NOTED THAT BRITS AND GERMANS HAD SUCCESSFULLY PREVENTED ARAB INJECTION OF POLITICAL ELEMENT BUT BRITS NOW CONSIDERING ARAB FORMULA TO HAVE PLO PARTICIPATE AS PART OF ARAB DELEGATION IN NON-GOVERNMENTAL WORKING PARTIES AT EXPERT LEVEL. SECRETARY SHARPLY QUESTIONED TERM "NON-GOVERNMENTAL" AND STATED HIS FIRM CONVICTION THAT POLITICS COULD NOT BE KEPT OUT OF DIALOGUE. PLO QUESTION ITSELF HAD ALREADY MADE POLITICAL ELEMENT INEVITABLE. CALLAGHAN INSISTED ALL OF PREPARATORY WORK SO FAR HAD BEEN ON TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC SUBJECTS, THAT US EFFORTS TOWARD SETTLEMENT HAD NOT BEEN INTERFERRED WITH, AND THAT PLO REPRESENTATIVE IN NON-POLITICAL FORUM WOULD "NOT STICK OUT LIKE SORE THUMB". SECRETARY SAID PRESENCE OF PLO UNDER ANY LABEL WOULD BE POLITICAL AND POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS IN FRENCH INTEREST TO DRAW EURO-PEANS INTO POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH ARABS. EUROPEANS WOULD BE SIMPLY PLAYING FRENCH GAME, HELPING THEM TO BE THE HEROES OF THE ARABS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 028206

4. GREECE-TURKEY-CYPRUS. RE AEGEAN, THE SECRETARY SAID WE MUST RUN SIGNIFICANT RISKS TO PREVENT ANOTHER GREEK-TURKISH BLOW-UP. PROPOSED DETAILED EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH BRITISH THROUGH INTERMEDIARY THEIR WASHINGTON EMBASSY NEXT WEEK. CALLAGHAN EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR OUR WORK WITH TURKS ALTHOUGH NOTING THAT WITHDRAWAL ONE THOUSAND TROOPS WAS SMALL DIVIDEND FOR EFFORTS. THE SECRETARY EXPRESSED FEAR THAT IF CONGRESS CUTS TURKISH AID, OUR LEVERAGE WITH

TURKEY WILL BE SERIOUSLY REDUCED. CALLAGHAN SAID HE COULD NOT SEE THAT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WOULD ACCOMPLISH MORE THAN CLERIDES-DENKTASH TALKS. THE SECRETARY SAID HE BELIEVED CARAMANLIS WOULD BE READY TO SETTLE IF THERE WERE TURKISH CONCESSIONS. WE HAVE URGED ON TURKS SETTLEMENT FIRST OF CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION AND THEN TERRITORIAL. IT WAS AGREED FOR PRESENT THERE WAS NO APPARENT ALTERNATIVE TO LETTING CLERIDES-DENKTASH TALKS

DRAG ON. THE SECRETARY ATTRIBUTED LACK OF PROGRESS ON CONCESSIONS PREVIOUSLY ASSURED (NICOSIA AIRPORT, FAMA-GUSTA OPENING, MORE TROOP WITHDRAWALS) TO WEAKNESS OF TURKISH GOVERNMENT AND IMPACT ON BOTH SIDES ON CONGRESSIONAL ACTION OF AID TO TURKEY.

5. SOUTHERN AFRICA. CALLAGHAN SAID HE PLANNED MAKE PUBLIC SMITH'S REJECTION OF PROPOSALS HE HAD MADE THROUGH PRIVATE MESSAGES. HE FELT OBLIGED TO DO THIS NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF PRINCIPLE OF HONOR, BUT TO INSURE CONTINUED IMPROVEMENT OF UK RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES. HE WANTED IT CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT IT WAS NOT BRITISH FAULT THERE HAD BEEN NO SETTLEMENT. SAID VORSTER HAS A MINI-VIETNAM ON HIS HANDS IN RHODESIA. IF HE KEEPS TROOPS THERE, HE WILL GET DEEPER AND DEEPER INTO IT. RHODESIA LOOKED UPON BY AFRICANS AS LAST COLONY BUT ARE MORE READY TO LIVE WITH AN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA AS A LONG-ESTABLISHED STATE. VORSTER PLAYING DIFFICULT BUT NOT ALTOGETHER FOOLISH GAME. CALLAGHAN DID NOT KNOW HOW VORSTER WOULD MOVE ON NAMIBIA BUT PREDICTED HE WOULD DO SO. THE SECRETARY COMMENDED CALLAGHAN FOR ROLE HE WAS PLAYING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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